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Ma'adan



582 591 It would, of course, be practically impossible for an Englishman, even were he a convert to Islam, to marry a girl of a good Sharif Arab tribe. If such a thing were permitted, he would never be allowed to take the girl away from the tribe, and he himself would have to adopt a nomad existence, and settle down with the girl's parents.

619 In the above notes I have not referred to the tribes of Iraq. Their main Badawin tribes, namely 'Anizah, Shammar and Dhafir are all Sharif tribes, but their settled tribes, known as Ashaiyir (singular: Ashira) are half marsh tribes (Ma'adan) or have their origin in some pure desert tribe of Arabia, such as Zubaid, Rabiah, etc. Nevertheless, because they have become settled and cultivate the soil, the desert man to-day tolerates no inter-marriage with even the best of them.

592 A few technical terms denoting various family relationships may here be discussed, for they throw light on the Badawin social system.

AHL (or ÁL)

[619] (*a*) Many tribes or sub-tribes have the prefix Ál put before them, when they are referred to, example Ál Murra, Ál Ruwala. This should not be mistaken for the article *al*.

Ál is like the term "Bani", e.g. Bani Khalid, Ál Khalid.

(*b*) Ahl is the common term used to represent a man's people or kin. You ask a Badawin *Wain ahlak?* (Where are your folk?), he will answer, *Naẓlin fi fulan fulan makan* (They are camped in such and such a place). In short, the word is commonly understood to mean a man's wife, sisters, children, father, mother and any relation who may be camped with him.

592 601 551 A man says *Ya 'Aiyál* when addressing his sons or his family as a whole. He will also say *Kaif hál al 'Aiyál?* when enquiring after the health of another person's children and family generally.

The term *ahl al bait* denotes also the wife of the tent-dweller, and like *raiyat al bait*, the mistress of the house. It is not commonly used.

The mistress of the tent is *Um al 'aiyál* (mother of the children) to her husband or others, or she may be addressed as "Um Sa'ud", "Um Hussa", "Um Badr", etc. She is rarely called by her own personal [576] name. A guest should certainly refer to her as mother of so and so if he were on sufficiently good terms to ask after his host's wife at all. A wife calls her husband "Rai al Bait" as well as by his proper name.

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576 592 601 551 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi warákum?* (How is the person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.

Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 613 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indicate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "Ahl al Summán", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahîn section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

### BANI 'ÁM

613 582 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

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I gathered, for a needle and thread to be passed through the clitoris, which was pulled outwards to its full length by means of the thread. When so extended it was cut off close to the body.

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According to Haji 'Abdullah al Fathil, Musulmani (Mr. Williamson) 28th March, 1933, the circumcision of females was advised by the Islamic religion, but was in no way ordained as necessary. He also added that the reason why the Sunnis of Basra generally, and especially their leading families, went in for the custom, was because of the town's Bani Tamim ancestry. The old Bani Tamim always practised female circumcision. My friend Haji 'Abdullah went further, and made the rather surprising statement that the circumcision of Islamic females was not definitely laid down as necessary in Islam. It was conceivable that an adult convert who objected to or feared the operation might evade it, though ordinary custom demanded the ceremony in almost every case. I leave my readers to discuss this last statement. I prefer not to commit myself.

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## WOMEN'S NAMES

(Among Mutair, Dhafir, Shammar, 'Ajman, 'Awazim, 'Anizah and other great tribes.)

'Adda
'Afra
Al 'Aati
Al Jázi
Al Jidá'a—Given to a girl who has had part of her ear cut off and eaten by her mother. If a woman has lost several children the mother seeks by this procedure to save her latest. ['Ajman and other tribes.]
'Amsha
'Asheba
'Athaiya
'Atsha
'Aysha
'Azíza
Daghaima
Dahmeliya
Dhiba
Dhira—Given to a girl whose mother was frightened by bad news before her birth.
Faiha
Fátima
Filwa
Ghanima
Ghazaiyil—little gazelle ['Ajman.]
Gwai'a
Hajaja
Haiyya
Hathla
Hussa
Huwaiya
'Iyda
Jahaira
Khasna

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# Infant Care

Chap. X

Latífa
Lulua
Mahara
Maneira
Mastura
Maziuna
Múdhi
Muzni
Nassara
Naufa
Nejela
Nejma
Núra
Nurfyah
Radífa
Sa'ada
Sabícha
Sanwa
Shagha—['Ajman] Janaifer's granddaughter
Shaikha
Sidha
Síta—('Ajman)
Sukort
Tufala
Ubdida
Wadha
Wasmfyah
Zahwa—[Shammar]

## UPBRINGING OF BABIES

The birth of a Badawin baby is attended with as little fuss as the 846
birth of a baby-camel. The infant is first and foremost bathed in a female camel's urine. As soon as possible afterwards, its eyes are rubbed over with antimony, to make them strong. All day long the baby is kept wrapped up in swaddling clothes, the arms being folded across the chest and bound there, and the legs tied close together at the knees and ankles. Before being swaddled the baby is laid flat on a square piece of black cloth covered with dry, powdered camel dung (formed into a dust). The baby is then wrapped up, and a little piece of black cloth is wound round its head to be replaced when it is about a month old by a cap which comes right down over both ears.

When the baby is being nursed, it is invariably placed on a circular 853
piece of leather (*nattah*).

When the mother moves about on her various duties, or if cutting 854
brushwood, she carries her baby slung across her back in a leather hammock (*miṛbáh*)*, the end-thongs of which are either passed round her forehead, or more often over one shoulder, the baby hanging down under her arm for warmth. On the march, the baby and hammock are placed with the mother in the *maksar* (or woman's litter).

When the child is a few months old it is often slung in one of the

* Only 'Ajman, Bani Hajir, Bani Khalid, 'Awazim, Zaab, Murra, Manasir, Muntafiq ('Ajwad) do this. Other tribes do not carry babies in leather hammocks.

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754 saddle bags with its head out. After this age the baby is practically never washed; and it is taken out of its swaddling clothes only at night and then for only short periods.

The idea underlying the swaddling clothes is firstly, to keep the baby quiet, and secondly, to make it grow strong and straight.

853 The baby is fed at any hour of the day and night, or whenever it cries. It is not immodest for a Badawin woman to feed her baby in

Nattah.

the presence of her menfolk, or even of strange men; and I have often seen women to whom I have been talking, open their front garment and bring out a breast to suckle their infant.

### BADAWIN NAMES

103 552 The Badawin frequently name men and places after parts of the human body. Some of the best-known examples are given below.

*Places.*

Al Sirra—"The Navel"; a hill near Kuwait.

Al Diúd—"The woman's breasts"; a hill in the Neutral Zone south of Kuwait.

Al Nuhaidain—"The maiden's breasts"; two small twin hills in Kuwait.

Kashm al Afri—"The gazelle's nose"; a hill 40 miles north-west of Kuwait.

Dhala'at al Dhaba—"The Hyena's Mounds"; a group of low hills 25 miles south-west of Kuwait.

561 *Men.*

Zib Sahman—"Dog's penis"; cognomen of Khalid al Hithlain, present Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

Ab 'al Kilab—"Father of Dogs"; cognomen given to Naif al Hithlain, late Shaikh of the 'Ajman.

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# Capture of Riyadh

Chap. XXII

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After lunch we heard all about the hawk incident. The bird had been branded between the eyes much as *salûqi* dogs are branded by the Badawin for distemper. The wound made by the *hubara* was on the top centre of the head, and was as large as a sixpence, the brand was the size of a threepenny bit and was placed just in front of the other wound. The hawk looked very sorry for itself, but Amir Haif assured me it would get quite well and "recover its courage". He said he was known to be an expert falcon doctor, and everyone knew that what he said would turn out as foreshadowed. I cordially hoped it would.

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[351]

After lunch we met Nahar al Mutalaqqim and his brother 'Abdulla (known as 'Ubaid from the dark colour of his skin, and his rather thick lips). Both were the Shaikhs of the Al Mutalaqqim sept of the 'Ajman, and great warriors.

'Ubaid told me that he had been one of the famous twenty paladins* (two of Sbei, one Qahtani and seventeen of 'Ajman) who under the leadership of Bin Sa'ud, Muhammad his brother, and 'Abdulla ibn Jiluwi had captured Riyadh and killed Ajlan, the Bin Rashid Governor, as he bolted back into the *kût* or fort of Riyadh. "Ah, Abu Sa'ud, those were great days, and it was worth a whole man's life to have seen them. It was Bin Jiluwi who hurled his dagger at the fleeing Ajlan and missed him,† and it was Bin Jiluwi's hand that seized Ajlan's leg as he tried to enter the wicket gate, and brought him to the ground, but it was 'Abdul 'Aziz's sword which struck off Ajlan's head, as he lay on the ground struggling with Bin Jiluwi. I can even now see Bin Sa'ud preparing for the sortie from Ajlan's lady's house, on the other side of the square. How cool and calm he was. He had discarded his *agâl* (head rope) and tied his *kaffiyah* over his head and round his neck, and had followed it by carefully tying his long sleeves round the back of his neck.

And what a woman was Ajlan's wife. She was found in deep sleep, and it was Bin Sa'ud who touched her and woke her up. *Minu, minu?* (who is it, who is it?), was all she said. On being told by Bin Sa'ud

* According to Bin Sa'ud's story related as recently as November 1937, 'Ubaid al Mutalaqqim was not among the famous twenty, but was among his supporters who awaited outside Riyadh among the palm groves.

† The mark of Bin Jiluwi's dagger which stuck in the great door of the fort after missing Ajlan can be seen to this day in Riyadh.